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FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW IMMEDIATE  
INFO AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 009334

E.O. 12958: DECL: 01/09/13

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SUBJECT: NONPAPER FOR RUSSIAN USE WITH SYRIAN VP KHADDAM:  
HAMAS AND HEZBALLAH

CLASSIFIED BY NEA A/S BILL BURNS, E.O. 12958 REASONS 1.5  
(B) AND (D).

1. (C) THIS IS AN ACTION REQUEST. SYRIAN VP KHADDAM WILL BE VISITING MOSCOW NEXT WEEK. IN DISCUSSIONS WITH RUSSIAN COUNTERPARTS IN WASHINGTON, THE USG HAS REQUESTED THAT THE GOR RAISE SYRIA'S CONTINUED SUPPORT FOR TERRORIST ORGANIZATIONS SUCH AS HAMAS AND HIZBALLAH. POST IS REQUESTED TO PROVIDE THE POINTS AT PARA TWO WITH APPROPRIATE GOR OFFICIALS. THE POINTS AT PARA THREE MAY BE LEFT AS A NONPAPER. THESE POINTS ARE NOT/NOT RELEASABLE TO THE SYRIAN GOVERNMENT.

2. (S/REL RUSSIA) BEGIN POINTS:

-- THE UNITED STATES CONSIDERS SYRIA A STATE SPONSOR OF TERRORISM, DUE PRIMARILY TO ITS HOSTING OF CERTAIN PALESTINIAN TERRORIST GROUPS SUCH AS HAMAS, THE PALESTINIAN ISLAMIC JIHAD (PIJ), THE POPULAR FRONT FOR THE

LIBERATION OF PALESTINE (PFLP), AND THE POPULAR FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF PALESTINE - GENERAL COMMAND (PFLP-GC). WE ARE CONCERNED AS WELL BY DAMASCUS' CLOSE RELATIONSHIP AND SUPPORT FOR HIZBALLAH.

-- THE EVIDENCE WE ARE PROVIDING YOU TODAY SUPPORTS OUR VERY REAL CONCERNS ABOUT THE ACTIVITIES OF TWO ORGANIZATIONS IN PARTICULAR: HIZBALLAH AND HAMAS. WE HOPE THAT YOU WILL CONSIDER THIS INFORMATION CAREFULLY AND IN SHAPING YOUR BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH COUNTRIES, SUCH AS IRAN AND SYRIA, WHICH SUPPORT THEIR ACTIVITIES AND THAT RUSSIAN OFFICIALS WILL DRAW ON THESE POINTS DURING THEIR MEETINGS NEXT WEEK WITH SYRIAN VP KHADDAM.

END POINTS.

3. (S/REL RUSSIA) BEGIN TEXT OF NON-PAPER:

HIZBALLAH  
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-- THE UNITED STATES CONSIDERS HIZBALLAH A TERRORIST ORGANIZATION, ENGAGED IN TERRORIST ACTIONS. WHILE WE DON'T OPPOSE HIZBALLAH'S POLITICAL AND SOCIAL ACTIVITIES, IT IS NOT CREDIBLE TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN A TERRORIST/OPERATIONAL WING OF THIS ORGANIZATION AND A POLICY/POLITICAL WING. TO TRY TO DO SO IS A WHOLELY ARTIFICIAL EXERCISE AS HIZBALLAH'S LEADERSHIP OF BOTH WINGS IS ONE AND THE SAME.

-- WE REMAIN CONCERNED ABOUT THE DETERMINATION AND ABILITY OF HIZBALLAH TO MOUNT TERRORIST OPERATIONS. THESE ACTIVITIES HAVE A DESTABILIZING EFFECT ON THE ENTIRE MIDDLE EAST REGION AND UNDERMINE INTERNATIONAL EFFORTS TO ESTABLISH CONDITIONS WHEREBY MEANINGFUL PEACE NEGOTIATIONS CAN RESUME.

-- HIZBALLAH CONTINUES TO RECEIVE WEAPONS FROM IRAN. WE ARE CONCERNED THIS CONTINUED RE-SUPPLY INCREASES THE LIKELIHOOD THAT HIZBALLAH WILL ACQUIRE LONGER-RANGE AND MORE ADVANCED ROCKETS OR MISSILES. THE GROWING STOCKPILE MAY LIKEWISE ENHANCE HIZBALLAH'S PERCEPTION OF ITS DETERRENT CAPACITY AND EMBOLDEN IT TO INCREASE BORDER ATTACKS AGAINST ISRAEL.

-- THE FINANCIAL, TRAINING, AND LOGISTICAL SUPPORT THAT

HIZBALLAH AND IRAN PROVIDE TO PALESTINIAN TERRORISTS ALSO  
GENERATES SIGNIFICANT CONCERN:

- HIZBALLAH AND IRANIAN ISLAMIC REVOLUTIONARY GUARD (IRGC) PERSONNEL HAVE CONDUCTED WEAPONS AND EXPLOSIVES TRAINING FOR MEMBERS OF PALESTINIAN GROUPS IN THE BEKAA VALLEY AND IN IRAN BEFORE SENDING THEM BACK INTO THE PALESTINIAN TERRITORIES
- HIZBALLAH COORDINATED THE MARCH 12 ATTACK AT SHLOMI IN NORTHERN ISRAEL, IN WHICH SIX ISRAELIS WERE KILLED, INCLUDING FOUR CIVILIANS.
- HIZBALLAH IS LIKEWISE WORKING TO INFILTRATE ITS OWN OPERATIVES INTO THE WEST BANK AND GAZA TO FACILITATE PALESTINIAN ATTACKS AGAINST ISRAELIS. AN OPERATIVE (A SHIA OF LEBANESE ORIGIN) ARRESTED IN HEBRON LAST SUMMER BY THE ISRAELI SECURITY SERVICE WAS TRAINED IN LEBANON AND SENT TO THE WEST BANK AND GAZA TO ENHANCE PALESTINIAN BOMB PRODUCTION AND HELP PLAN ATTACKS.
- HIZBALLAH COOPERATED WITH FATAH PALESTINIANS ON THE JANUARY 2002 KARINE A SHIPMENT. THE SHIP WAS CARRYING ROUGHLY 50 TONS OF MOSTLY IRANIAN-MADE WEAPONS - SUCH AS BATTLEFIELD ROCKETS, NUMEROUS LIGHT AND ANTI-TANK MISSILES, MORTARS, MINES, EXPLOSIVES, AND SMALL ARMS AND MUNITIONS.
- IN MAY 2001, THE PFLP-GC, WITH HIZBALLAH'S ASSISTANCE, ATTEMPTED TO SMUGGLE 45 SEALED BARRELS OF ARMS BY SEA FROM LEBANON TO THE PALESTINIAN AUTHORITY. PRESS REPORTS AT THE TIME OF SEIZURE STATED THAT INTERROGATION OF THE CREW SHOWED THE SAME SHIP HAD MADE THREE EARLIER DELIVERIES TO GAZA.

-- HIZBALLAH'S LEADERSHIP HAS CALLED ON ARAB LEADERS TO PROVIDE "SERIOUS" MONEY AND WEAPONS TO THE PALESTINIANS. IN AN INTERVIEW IN MARCH WITH THE LONDON SUNDAY TIMES, THE GENERAL SECRETARY OF HIZBALLAH, HASSAN NASRALLAH, ALSO ADMITTED THAT THREE HIZBALLAH MEMBERS HAD BEEN ARRESTED BY

THE JORDANIANS AS THEY ATTEMPTED TO SMUGGLE A NUMBER OF KATYUSHA ROCKETS TO PALESTINIAN FACTIONS.

-- THE EFFECT SUCH SUPPORT AND COORDINATION COULD HAVE ON THE EFFECTIVENESS OF TERRORIST ATTACKS AGAINST ISRAEL IS CLEARLY WORRISOME. INCREASED IRANIAN FUNDING AND WEAPONS, ALONG WITH TRAINING PROVIDED BY BOTH IRAN AND HIZBALLAH, HAVE CONTRIBUTED TO THE INCREASED LETHALITY OF THE CURRENT INTIFADA. BY NASRALLAH'S OWN ADMISSION, BROADCAST ON BEIRUT TELEVISION NOVEMBER 26, HIZBALLAH IS "STRONGER TODAY THAN IT WAS AT THE TIME" OF THE WITHDRAWAL OF ISRAELI TROOPS FROM LEBANON IN 2000. NASRALLAH HAS REPEATEDLY AND PUBLICLY CALLED FOR THE DESTRUCTION OF ISRAEL.

HAMAS

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-- WHILE SOME NATIONS DISTINGUISH BETWEEN HAMAS' POLITICAL WING, INCLUDING ITS FUNDRAISING ARM AND ARRAY OF SOCIAL SERVICES, AND IZZ AL-DIN AL-QASSAM, ITS OPERATIONAL BRANCH, THE UNITED STATES DOES NOT BELIEVE IT IS APPROPRIATE TO DO SO BASED ON AVAILABLE INFORMATION. THE UNITED STATES VIEWS HAMAS AS A UNIFIED ORGANIZATION WITH UNIFIED GOALS, ONE OF WHICH IS THE ELIMINATION OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL.

- HAMAS POLITICAL LEADERS OPENLY LOBBY FOR THE "LIQUIDATION" OF ISRAEL THROUGH VIOLENCE, AS POLITICAL BUREAU CHIEF KHALID MISHA'AL DID IN TEHRAN ON APRIL 24, 2001. HAMAS SPOKESMAN MOUSA ABU MARZOUK VOWED HAMAS WOULD "STEP UP ITS GUERRILLA WAR AGAINST ISRAEL" AND THIS SUMMER ADMITTED ON THE U.S. TELEVISION SHOW "60 MINUTES" THAT HAMAS WAS DEVELOPING, IN GAZA, ADVANCED ROCKETS TO STRIKE TARGETS INSIDE ISRAEL PROPER. DR. ABDEL RANTISI, ANOTHER PROMINENT HAMAS POLITICAL OFFICIAL, SAID

SUICIDE BOMBERS ARE "THE MOST EFFECTIVE STRATEGY FOR US." RANTISI PUBLICLY ADMITS THAT IZZ AL-DIN AL-QASSAM INITIATES ATTACKS BASED ON CUES HEARD IN PUBLIC STATEMENTS MADE BY HAMAS POLITICAL FIGURES.

- IN A MAY 2002 STATEMENT POSTED ON A PROMINENT ARABIC INTERNET SITE, HAMAS MILITARY LEADER SALAH SHIHADA, SUBSEQUENTLY KILLED IN AN ISRAELI TARGETED OPERATION THIS FALL, SAID THAT HAMAS' "POLITICAL APPARATUS IS SOVEREIGN OVER THE MILITARY APPARATUS, AND A DECISION OF THE POLITICAL ECHELON TAKES PRECEDENCE OVER THE DECISION OF THE MILITARY ECHELON, WITHOUT INTERVENING IN MILITARY OPERATIONS."

- IN AUGUST 2002, HAMAS' GAZA-BASED SPIRITUAL LEADER AHMAD YASIN WAS QUOTED AS SAYING, "WHEN WE HAMAS MAKE DECISIONS ON THE POLITICAL LEVEL AND CONVEY THEM TO THE MILITARY WING, IT ABIDES BY IT NORMALLY."

-- PALESTINIAN AUTHORITY (PA) LEADERS TELL US HAMAS "POLITICAL" LEADERS ARE COMPLICATING THEIR EFFORTS TO LIMIT ATTACKS ON ISRAELI TARGETS. IN JANUARY 2002, A PROMINENT ARAB NEWSPAPER REPORTED THAT PA LEADERS HAD ASKED SYRIA-BASED HAMAS LEADERS IMAD AL-ALAMI, MARZUK AND MISHA'AL TO STOP "POURING OIL ON THE FIRE" BY ARMING AND FUNDING CELLS IN THE WEST BANK. THE SAME NEWSPAPER REPORTED IN JUNE 2002 THAT AL-ALAMI HAD MET WITH PALESTINIAN ISLAMIC JIHAD, HIZBALLAH AND AL-QAEDA REPRESENTATIVES TO DISCUSS CONDUCTING "MAJOR MARTYRDOM OPERATIONS."

-- HAMAS' NETWORK OF SOCIAL SERVICES SUPPORTS THE VIOLENT POLITICAL AMBITIONS OF THE ORGANIZATION, BOTH FINANCIALLY AND THROUGH EFFORTS FURTHERING INDOCTRINATION.

- HAMAS IS SUSPECTED OF DERIVING A LARGE PERCENTAGE OF ITS REVENUE FROM INDIVIDUALS THROUGHOUT THE GULF REGION, THE GREATER MIDDLE EAST AND EUROPE. THESE FINANCES UNDERMINE THE MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS BY PROMOTING HAMAS' PROPAGANDA AND FACILITATING THE RECRUITMENT AND INDOCTRINATION OF HAMAS ACTIVISTS. SOME OF THESE FUNDS MAY ALSO SUPPORT THE FAMILIES OF "MARTYRS" AND THE EXECUTION OF TERRORIST OPERATIONS.

-- HAMAS CENTERS ITS POLITICAL ACTIVITIES PRIMARILY IN THE IMPOVERISHED AREAS OF GAZA AND THE WEST BANK. THERE IT

OPENLY MAINTAINS A DIVERSE ARRAY OF SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS SERVICES, RAISES MONEY, ORGANIZES ACTIVITIES, DISTRIBUTES PROPAGANDA AND RECRUITS MEMBERS. SOME RECRUITS ARE CLANDESTINELY TRAINED AS SUICIDE BOMBERS FOR SERVICE WITHIN IZZ AL-DIN AL-QASSAM, THE GROUP'S TERRORIST WING. HAMAS' STRONG INFLUENCE IN MANY PALESTINIAN MOSQUES, SCHOOLS AND SOCIAL CLUBS CONTRIBUTES TO THE ORGANIZATION'S ATTEMPTS TO INDOCTRINATE THE PALESTINIAN CONSTITUENCY WITH ITS VIOLENT IDEOLOGY, PARTICULARLY ITS YOUTH, AND PROVIDES RELIGIOUS SANCTION TO VIOLENCE AGAINST ISRAELIS.

- HAMAS "POLITICAL" LEADER MISHA'AL ON NOVEMBER 16, 2000 WAS QUOTED IN THE ARAB DAILY AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT AS SAYING, "HAMAS IS A JIHAD MOVEMENT THAT SERVES THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE AND THE CURRENT INTIFADA. EVERYTHING HAMAS OWNS IS USED IN THIS BATTLE."

-- HAMAS POSES AN UNUSUAL AND EXTRAORDINARY THREAT TO THE PEACE PROCESS IN THE MIDDLE EAST, WHICH THE UNITED STATES VIEWS AS CRITICAL TO ITS NATIONAL SECURITY, FOREIGN POLICY AND/OR ECONOMIC INTERESTS, THROUGH THE INCITEMENT OF TERRORISM AND OVERT TERRORIST ACTIVITIES:

- THE UNITED STATES HAS INFORMATION INDICATING THAT HAMAS' POLITICAL BUREAU OFTEN HAS FOREKNOWLEDGE OF, IS LINKED TO, AND/OR PROVIDES DIRECTION FOR THE OPERATIONS OF IZZ AL-DIN AL-QASSAM AGAINST ISRAELI TARGETS. MOST RECENTLY, HAMAS CLAIMED RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE JULY 2002 BOMBING AT JERUSALEM'S HEBREW UNIVERSITY THAT KILLED FOUR

ISRAELIS AND FIVE AMERICAN CITIZENS AND THE MARCH 2002 SUICIDE BOMBINGS THAT KILLED 25 ISRAELIS ON PASSOVER NIGHT IN NETANYA, ISRAEL, AND 15 ISRAELIS AT A HAIFA CAFE THE SAME WEEK. SIMILARLY DEVASTATING ATTACKS WERE CARRIED OUT IN 2001, SUCH AS THE JUNE 1 BOMBING OF A TEL AVIV NIGHTCLUB THAT KILLED 22 ISRAELI TEENAGERS, AND THE AUGUST 9 SUICIDE ATTACK ON A JERUSALEM PIZZERIA IN WHICH 15 CIVILIANS DIED. AMERICAN CITIZENS AND OTHER NON-ISRAELIS HAVE BEEN KILLED AND INJURED IN THESE AND OTHER ATTACKS. HAMAS SPOKESMEN, INCLUDING PURPORTED "POLITICAL" LEADERS, CATEGORIZE THESE OPERATIONS AS "SELF-DEFENSE" - PART

OF ITS DECLARED POLICY TO CREATE A "BALANCE OF TERROR" WITH ISRAEL.

-- HAMAS IS ACTIVE THROUGHOUT THE MIDDLE EAST AND ITS AFFILIATION WITH OTHER INTERNATIONAL TERRORIST ORGANIZATIONS CONSTITUTES A THREAT TO AMERICAN AND WESTERN INTERESTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND BEYOND:

- HAMAS OPERATES THROUGHOUT THE MIDDLE EAST. FOR PURPOSES OF TRAINING, FUND-RAISING AND CONSULTING WITH FOREIGN OFFICIALS AND OTHER TERRORISTS ORGANIZATIONS, HAMAS IS KNOWN OR BELIEVED TO HAVE A PRESENCE IN IRAN, LEBANON, LIBYA, SAUDI ARABIA, SUDAN, YEMEN AND SYRIA (IT MAINTAINS ITS HEADQUARTERS IN DAMASCUS). FOUR OF THESE COUNTRIES ARE LISTED BY THE USG AS STATE SPONSORS OF TERRORISM. HAMAS IS ALSO ACTIVE IN OTHER NATIONS. FURTHER, HAMAS MAY ASPIRE TO DESTABILIZE THE PALESTINIAN AUTHORITY IN THE EVENT OF ARAFAT'S DEATH.

- HAMAS IS BELIEVED TO COOPERATE WITH OTHER FOREIGN TERRORIST ORGANIZATIONS OF GLOBAL REACH, INCLUDING HIZBALLAH. ACCORDING TO PRESS REPORTS, HAMAS AND HIZBALLAH HAVE COOPERATED ON WEAPONS ENHANCEMENT AND DEVELOPMENT FOR USE WITHIN ISRAEL AND THE PALESTINIAN TERRITORIES. HAMAS IS ALSO KNOWN TO MAINTAIN CLOSE TIES WITH IRAN. HAMAS' AFFILIATION WITH THESE TERRORIST ORGANIZATIONS, WHICH ARE TOGETHER RESPONSIBLE FOR THE DEATHS OF THOUSANDS OF AMERICAN CITIZENS, AND IRAN (A STATE SPONSOR OF TERRORISM) CONSTITUTES A GROWING THREAT TO AMERICAN AND WESTERN INTERESTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND BEYOND.

END TEXT.

POWELL